Enacting anti-racist visualities through photo-dialogues on race in Paris

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Abstract

Purpose – Grounded in experience of co-organizing a two-day photography-based workshop in Paris, this paper explores how photo-dialogues can facilitate anti-racist pedagogy and generative discussions about how race and racism function in marketplace contexts.

Design/methodology/approach – This paper draws on the authors' involvement in a cross-national and cross-disciplinary team of scholars who worked with local community stakeholders—including activists, artists and practitioners—to discuss, theorize and photo-document issues regarding race and racism in the Parisian marketplace.

Findings – This paper contributes to the literature on visual culture studies and critical race studies as it demonstrates the potentials of photography combined with dialogue to challenge the White supremacy over archiving and visuality in the context of urban spaces. This new methodology is an opportunity to reflect on archetypes of visuality that depart from the traditional Parisian flâneur to be consistent with and reinforce anti- racist stances.

Originality/value – Photography and visual methods often play peripheral roles in anti-racist education across various disciplines and research areas, including critical marketplace studies. This paper expands understanding of the potentials of using photographic methods as part of critical and anti-racist work related to racial and racist dynamics, including issues regarding power, White supremacy and public space. It outlines the use of photographic dialogues in a context (Paris, France) where discussion of race is regularly societally discouraged. Thus, this work shifts the focus away from decontextualized research that regards race as an object, to specifically foreground understandings of racialized experiences and how the photographic gaze produces and is produced by racialized viewers.

Keywords Racism, Market, Race, Photography, Photo-dialogue, Visual pedagogy

Paper type Research paper

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Introduction

The intersection of visual culture and research on race, racism and the experiences of racialized people, has led to the development of an expansive body of work on the visual and cultural construction of "race" and racialized lives (Hall, 2001; Sealy, 2019; Smith, 2014). While extensive literature provides rich accounts of how race can be the object of a person's, institution's or society's gaze, there is a continued need for more work that specifically focusses on how the gaze itself (i.e. looking) produces and is produced by racialized viewers. Photography offers an ideal medium for understanding such dynamics, as it allows us to explore how people learn to look, see and understand themselves as viewers, and, sometimes, voyeurs. Photography, as a material practice, mediates and formalizes the act of looking and seeing, and opens the door to studying "visuality", i.e. sight as social fact (Mirzoeff, 2006; Smith, 2014). As such, photography facilitates the analysis of how one can be both a (re)producer and spectator of racial dynamics—including in urban spaces and connected marketplace contexts.

Theorizing photography as a material practice re-centres the analysis of its genealogy on the subject producing and viewing the pictures, thus deconstructing the "shadow archive" (Sekula, 1986)—that is, an archive which effaces the subject's constitutive role in the process of visual production and consumption (Pugliese, 2007). Although the urban visualising subject has often been romanticized through the figure of the flâneur—typically an affluent White, cismale who righteously wanders throughout the city—we argue that recent scholarship on the flâneur puts forward new, alternative, anti-racist archetypes for discussing the experiences of marginalized and racialized people, including their relation to urban (market)spaces.

In this article, we explore the potentials of photography to enact and reinforce these new anti-racist archetypes, as we advance the photo-dialogue method: a collaborative and dialogic photographic process that is reflexive, pluralized and facilitates the analysis of quotidian yet insightful everyday moments. To illustrate the photo-dialogue methodology, we draw on our experience co-organizing a two-day photography-based workshop composed of a cross-national and cross-disciplinary team of scholars and local community stakeholders, including activists, artists and practitioners. In June 2019, we came together to discuss, compare and contrast views on race and markets in Paris, France—a place where conversations pertaining to race and racism are often dismissed on the grounds that they are perceived as contradicting France's "Republican" ethos (see Germain and Larcher, 2019).

This project stems from the wider work of the Race in the Marketplace (RIM) Research Network (see Grier et al., 2019; Johnson et al., 2019). In addition to yielding understandings linked to the racial politics of Parisian marketplace environments and public spaces, this project examines the nexus of photography and anti-racist pedagogy, shaped by critical race theory (Delgado and Stefancic, 2017), anti-racist scholarship (Johnson et al., 2018; Johnson, 2020) and work that recognizes the meaningfulness of images (Campt, 2017). Overall, we explore how photo-dialogues, paired with critical reflection on who and what constitutes the photographic gaze, can contribute to anti-racist research, pedagogy and praxis, by documenting and facilitating discussions of mobility, gentrification, White supremacy and the daily lives of racialized people.

Our article first discusses the racial dynamics of visuality and photography through a historical exploration of photography's role in archival work. We then critically consider how visuality and the flâneur archetype have been theorized. This leads us to conceptualize the photo-dialoguer archetype and self-reflect on the praxis of photo-dialoguing, based on our experience of a two-day photography-based workshop in Paris. Finally, we synthesize these

discussions to outline our contributions to visual culture studies and critical studies of race.

A historical perspective on White supremacist visuality and photography

Photography and related archival collections have historically been enlisted in political projects of social disciplining and hierarchy maintenance. In this sense, photography has supported classificatory systems of documented information that serve as indexes for reinforcing dominant understandings of the world. The White hegemony over normative approaches to archiving and the promotion of archiving as a neutral process contributed to the legitimation and systematization of the structurally White gaze—what we refer to as White supremacist visuality. Where visuality, as a social fact, was "a point of contestation in political and cultural discourse" over the meaning of representation (Mirzoeff, 2006, p. 65), photography was instrumental in standardizing, regulating, and disciplining vision and knowledge regimes to serve the interests of those in power.

Historically, White men in positions of power were regarded as authorities on knowledge and the archived histories supporting it. Such White patriarchal supremacy over the photo-documentation of people and places resulted in the imposition of a racist visual culture, which featured revisionist accounts of history and structurally White archival spaces (Farmer, 2018; Fuentes, 2016). This further obscured the ways racialized people photographed, documented and archived (see Williams, 2016). Accounting for the violence enacted through certain archived images of Black people, Campt (2017, p. 3) poignantly asks "How do we contend with images intended not to figure Black subjects, but to delineate instead differential or degraded forms of personhood or subjection—images produced with the purpose of tracking, cataloging, and constraining the movement of Blacks in and out of diaspora?".

Photography can be used in ways that reproduce historical patterns of exoticization, exclusion and commodification of Otherness (e.g. Bell, 2017), in addition to contributing to the surveillance, identification and harmful abuse of activists, like those involved in the Movement for Black Lives, who become hyper-visible (Powell, 2020). Nevertheless, as Richardson (2020) highlights in vital work on Bearing Witness While Black, images and visual-documentation of, and by Black people, can play a key role in Black activist work. The power of photography can be deployed against people targeted by anti-Blackness and racism but can also be harnessed in ways that address their most pressing concerns.

Visual regimes "construct both the possibility for visual enunciation and the very cultural intelligibility of the visual 'statement'" (Pugliese, 2007, p. 61). Indeed, soon after its invention in the mid-nineteenth century, photography became the main method of the alleged "scientific" study of "race". Socially constructing the "objectivity" of the medium, "race theorists" from the late nineteenth century and early 20th century (e.g. Alphonse Bertillon, Ronald Fisher, Earnest Albert Hooton) established White supremacist classifications and hierarchies based on physical traits they claimed to observe in photographs (Hight and Sampson, 2002; Morris-Reich, 2016).

In (re)presentations of the native populations of Africa, Asia, Oceania, the Americas and the Middle East, colonial photographs essentialized peoples and places to violently construct them as racially inferior, subhuman and objects of fascination (see Hight and Sampson, 2002) that could be exploited or discarded in the interest of economic and psychosocial gains. Consistent with what post-colonial studies scholar, Said (1978), refers to as Orientalism, these photographs have contributed to the production (and visual

consumption) of populations and geographies that are more representative of colonizers' hegemonic, self-serving and cruel imagination than the colonized reality. Invoking a "White-supremacist gaze" (hooks, 1995, p. 62), colonialist photography can lure some audiences into ignoring the underlying motives and contexts of photographs framed by colonizers' perspectives, and in doing so can substantiate racist and imperialist rule (Alloula, 1981).

Nevertheless, the White hegemony over visuality and archiving has been challenged through acts of counter-archiving (Ware, 2017). For instance, Du Bois (1900) famously compiled an exhibit featuring 363 Black-and-White photographs of middle-class African Americans from Georgia for the 1900 Paris Exposition. His objective was to counteract stereotypes about Black America and represent the diversity of Black life in the United States (Smith, 2014). However, in doing so he did not specifically challenge the anti-Black and classist notion that Black people should only be respected in society if they are of a certain socio-economic standing that is potentially palatable to a White gaze. As such, Du Bois's photographic intervention merely served to disturb, rather than de-centre White supremacist visuality and archiving.

Although there are many more recent examples of photography being used as part of anti-racist action (e.g. Ware, 2017), the colonialist and racist use of photography has not and racism highlight how such dynamics remain relevant in modern-day societies (e.g. Jamerson, 2019; Sobande et al., 2020). Photographs on digital platforms including Instagram or Facebook have been criticized for reproducing historical patterns of exoticization, exclusion and commodification of Otherness (e.g. Bell, 2017; Sobande, 2020). After all, consumer culture is a site, source and outcome of racism and the impact of colonial legacies (Johnson et al., 2019).

Photo archiving thus remains a contested regime, in between the re-assertion of White supremacy over visual culture and the anti-racist fight to question power relations and pluralize visuality. In this context, there is a need to dismantle the archive, to uncover the manners in which visual cultures and photography convey specific ways to look and see, and to challenge the roots of White supremacist visuality. Next, we discuss how we can begin these efforts through reflections on the historical figure of the flâneur in relation to the antiracist potentials of visualities.

From the flâneur to the anti-racist potentials of alternative visualities

Research surrounding the imperial gaze (Kaplan, 1997) and the White gaze (hooks, 1992) all point to the subjective and interactive processes of seeing and being seen, which photography stands at the crossroads of. However, the historical decontextualization of archiving has fostered a spurious regime of visuality. We posit that re-framing the discussion on the viewers' gaze and on photography as a material practice allows us to study the very process that has been commonly shadowed by archiving. By looking at the contested terrain of visuality, we re-centre the debate on the subjects producing and viewing pictures. As such, we promote a critical discussion of power relations connected to: Who has the power to look and see? Who produces the photograph in question? What do "we" see? How does this relate to "our" lives? Who can access and respond to the image (Berger, 2008)? To elaborate on these questions, we draw on the archetype of the flâneur who, through his Whiteness, masculinity and privileged power, has epitomized visuality in urbanscapes, particularly those of Paris, France.

Visuality in Paris: the mythical freedom of the flâneur

The figure of the flâneur occupies a central place in the history of Parisian urban life, and more particularly, in myths surrounding the act of looking in urban spaces. Flâneur consists of walking alone at an overtly leisurely pace while observing urban sights and places (Shields, 1994). Commonly translated as "strolling", flâneur tends to be more specific than its English equivalent as it refers to an individual and spatial practice within limited urban sites, namely, the interior and exterior marketspaces of the city (Shields, 1994). In particular, Walter Benjamin argues that the practice is intimately linked with the development, in the first half of the 19th century, of the Paris arcades (les passages couverts). At a time when pavements were rare and too narrow to protect pedestrians from vehicles, these small shopping galleries connecting two streets offered a luxurious "cross between a street and an interieur", where the flâneur could escape the boredom of his existence (Benjamin, 1983).

Benjamin (1983) further contends that flânerie declined from the second half of the 19th century with Haussmann's renovation of Paris and the development of department stores—thus, redefining the flâneur as consumer and flânerie as consumption (Parkhurst Ferguson, 1994). Despite such a short lifespan, the flâneur remains a key historical figure of the Parisian marketplace and still influences how local inhabitants and tourists imagine what observing should be in Paris: a free, leisurely wandering of the gaze.

In his essay, "The Painter of Modern Life" (first published in 1863), Charles Baudelaire offers the most vivid description of the flâneur: "The crowd is his domain, just as the air is the bird's, and water that of the fish. His passion and his profession is to merge with the crowd" (Baudelaire, 1972, p. 399). In other words, without financial or emotional expenditure, the flâneur puts himself at the centre of a social world he has created while, to others, he seems to be just another man in the urban flux (Tester, 1994). Although flânerie requires the city and its crowds, the flâneur remains distant from both (Parkhurst Ferguson, 1994). Observation is the flâneur's raison d'être, and his distinct posture has been associated with the socially detached stance of classic social scientists (see Frisby, 1994).

The carefree privilege embodied in this mythical observer/viewer seems to be at odds with the ways urban spaces seek to regulate visuality by directing people's gazes and sending coded signals about status and belonging. Contemporary global cities like Paris are rife with "social and physical signs and codes" signalling "status and power as written in physical landscapes" (Harvey cited in Diesing, 1992, p. 105). Our ways of getting to know a place are also mediated through popular representations that provide templates for understanding them. Recognizing how the politics underlying urban design and popular media come to shape what people see, how people see, where they feel they belong and where they feel out-of place, prompts us to question the disposition of the traditional flâneur through an anti-racist lens.

The flâneur, as the sovereign viewer par excellence, is at odds with alternative visualities held by members of historically and structurally marginalized groups. For Shields (1994), the flâneur must be analysed in the context of the 19th-century French colonial empire as a mythological ideal-type created to embody the dream of colonial domination – from a distance. Flânerie is an attempt to reframe the political mechanizations of empire as a spectacle that is always available for the "visual consumption" of the White supremacist gaze. Shields (1994) concludes: "as a consumer of sights and goods [in the arcades], the flâneur is a vicarious conqueror, self-confirmed in his mastery of the empire of the gaze while losing his own self in the commodified network of popular imperialism." As such, the archetype of the flâneur captures the pervasiveness of colonial White supremacist visuality

over the city, and excludes structurally oppressed people from the myth. Photographer Cole (2018 cited in Gehlawat, 2019) claims:

> [..] you cannot be a Black flâneur. Flânerie is for Whites. For Blacks in White terrain, all spaces are charged. Cafes, restaurants, museums, shops. Your own front door. This is why we are compelled, instead, to practice psychogeography. We wander alert, and pay a heavy psychic toll for that vigilance. Can't relax, Black.

In contemporary Paris, young people racialized as Black or Arab experience extreme forms of surveillance and harassment in public spaces. Labelled "indésirables" (undesirables) by bigoted police forces and the racist new occupiers—mostly White people from middle and upper class backgrounds—of recently gentrified areas, they face evictions from public spaces by means of violent controls, beatings, humiliations and inherently abusive arrests (see Boutros, 2018). Hence, particularly in the context of Paris, there is a need to reflect on the very limited applicability of the flâneur notion in relation to racialized people.

Disrupting the flâneur's figure: urban spaces as a discursive terrain

Unlike Cole's (2018) take mentioned previously, others posit that flânerie in Paris as a racialized, and specifically, Black, viewer is possible. Yet, such subjectivity is perpetually tenuous and departs from the free and leisurely experience embodied by the flâneur myth. If a racialized person casts "a lingering gaze onto the fleeting beauty of the post/colonial city, they must also navigate the racialized dynamics of the gaze, i.e. the performative and normative regulation of space" informing "who can look at whom, who can be seen and who remain invisible, who must look down and who cannot look away" (Hill, 2018). Gay (2019, pp. 230–231) reminds us that people who meander through commercial spaces risk being labelled loiterers: "the darker your skin, the more likely you are to be loitering". As such, the racialized flâneur is at odds with the essential traits of the traditional flâneur, i.e. freedom and the feeling of belonging, and must strike a delicate balance of observation and self-awareness when moving through the urban (market)space.

To acknowledge racialized flânerie is to acknowledge the ways in which modes of reading the city can be expanded to account for alternative visual literacies linked to distinct subjective positions. For example, some urban dwellers recognize the strategically disruptive agency expressed through graffiti, which offers oppositional claims of status and ownership. Others may recognize unjust landscapes of access/in-access through their experiences navigating the city in a wheelchair. As such, we see the city as a "discursive terrain across which the struggle between the different, often hostile codes of meaning construction [have] been engaged" (Daniels and Cosgrove, 1993, p. 59). Accordingly, researchers must consider both the "scopic regimes" that aim to compel certain readings of urban milieu and the "visual subcultures" that exist in opposition to them (Jay, 1988). As Jaworski and Thurlow (2010, p. 32) explain:

> The city itself can be read as a text . . . in which the tensions between the globalizing and

> localizing displays of words and images manifest in the aggressive ideology and dominance of global capitalism and often struggling, local identities of communities rooted in real and "imagined" places.

This is most profoundly seen in diasporic communities' claims to urban space by utilizing imagery to sustain their sense of national identity as well as to activate and express nostalgic sentiments regarding "home." Indeed, such immigrant communities may:

> transform the typically urban areas of their concentration by . . . creating orders of indexicality which positions them in complex ways vis-_a-vis their ancestral and host communities with the written and pictorial signs over shops, restaurants, travel agents, Internet and telephone communications centres, cultural institutions and so on (Jaworski and Thurlow, 2010, p. 8)

To take into account such new approaches to urban marketscapes and subjective positionalities, several scholars and artists have discussed a potential reappropriation of the flâneur figure by post-colonial and anti-racist movements (e.g. Ibrahim, 2008). For instance, Treviño (2008) proposes a "redeemed flâneur" image who is not a passive city-observer, but a city-reader who also becomes an active participant in the production of meaning. Similar to this, Zhou (2014) argues that flânerie may actually offer a site of resistance to "urban control" making alternative articulations emerge. In her work, she describes how some Asian American writers (e.g. Lin Yutang; Sui Sin Far) have reinvented the privileged White male flâneur to dismantle myths about Chinatowns in American cities and to produce counter-narratives.

In the next section we discuss how photography can be used as a means and mode of both engaging with alternative anti-racist visualities and galvanizing their efforts towards deconstructing the White supremacist "shadow archive" (Sekula, 1986). To do this, we advance the figure of the photo-dialoguer as a contemporary, anti-racist alternative to traditional flânerie.

Using photography to advance anti-racist visualities: the photo-dialoguer

In the 1998 novel Two Cities, John Edgar Wideman introduces the character of Martin Mallory, a "marginalized, indigent, and infirm" African American who takes pictures of the African American neighbourhoods of Pittsburgh and Philadelphia. In line with this character who has been interpreted as being a "photographer- flâneur" (Valkeakari, 2019, p. 222), we conceive a new anti-racist archetype of visuality: the photo-dialoguer, focussing both on photography and dialogues. Although the photo-dialoguer echoes other potentially antiracist archetypes such as the "redeemed fl^aneur" (Trevi~no, 2008), the "new flâneur" (Ibrahim, 2008) or the "Black flâneur" (St Felix, 2016), it differs from these neo- flâneur exemplars through its emphasis on contextualised photography and dialogue.

First, the photo-dialoguer is a product of the visual and digital age—a time when cameras and related devices are increasingly accessible, portable and integrated into many urban dwellers' everyday lives; and when the capabilities of sharing and even broadcasting photographic images are unprecedented. Photo-dialoguers use the democratic potentials of photography for anti-racist purposes. Although social research projects using photography

have emerged in different academic fields, especially in sociology and anthropology, such work remains marginal at best (Holm, 2014; Liu and Pechenkina, 2016).

Many scholars still consider photography-based methods to be too subjective, naïve or simplistic, as compared to social science analyses purely based on verbal and textual observations (see Holliday, 2000; Holm, 2014; Reavey, 2011). In contrast, we argue that photography-based methods are a powerful and robust means of reflecting on and discussing issues of race and White supremacy, as photographs, when engaged with critically, can elicit vital questions surrounding power relations and social positions.

As scholars with a shared commitment to critical and anti-racist research that interrogates how structural racism governs different places and spaces, we embrace the subjective qualities of photography, recognizing that humans construct multiple realities that variously align/misalign with hegemonic renderings of existence. Photo-taking does not exist outside of this process (Basil, 2011). We too acknowledge that photography may work to discount racialized viewers as the lens itself serves as a site of inequitable racial power dynamics (Lewis, 2019).

At the same time, we argue that photography can create a more democratic space for marginalized perspectives to come to the fore, challenging the direct reproduction of White supremacist dominion in the guise of academic writing (see Dar, 2018). Indeed, the implications of a photograph cannot fully be grasped through language alone as photographs are at once a pre-language medium—as a person's capacity to take a photograph is not dependent on their ability to speak a language, read or write—and a post-language medium—in that images always say more than any accompanying description of them. Photo-dialoguers recontextualize photography as a material practice to fight against the decontextualized shadow archive and challenge White supremacist visuality. Photo-dialoguers therefore use photography as a decolonial praxis that "disrupts dominant colonial narratives attached to colonial ways of looking and capturing the other by empowering a counter-history communicated visually by oppressed and colonized peoples" (Pedri-Spade, 2017, p. 107). Thus, what has often been a means and product of White supremacy over visuality can become the means and product of the promotion of anti-racist visualities.

The second way that the photo-dialoguer departs from the aforementioned alternative models of flânerie is through participation in dialogue. The photo-dialoguer recognizes the importance of democratizing possible ways to look and see through photographs, the interpretations of which go beyond the photographer's vantage point. The photo-dialoguer's very existence is relational—that is, defined through dialogic exchanges with others. Hence, photo-dialoguers that move through the world perpetually understand themselves as participants in a collaborative project of collective meaning-making through the practice of dialoguing. This dialogue can therefore work to transcend bounded communities in urban and cosmopolitan contexts where discrimination is not restricted to one community and racial issues are eminently transversal (Kaplan and Recoquillon, 2016).

The photo-dialoguer becomes a mobile, reflexive reader of landscapes engaged in the collective process of visually rendering them towards social justice outlooks and ends through the production of and reflection on photographic images. Accordingly, we define the photo-dialoguer as an anti-racist archetype, who uses the potentials of photography and dialogue to jointly reflect on and promote anti-racist visualities. Next, we contrast the photodialoguer and the flâneur.

Contrasting the photo-dialoguer and the flâneur

Photo-dialoguers use the potential of photography to deconstruct and question visual cultures, to engage in critical reflections on the production and interpretation of photographs with others, and to explore anti-racist mobilities and relations to the city. As such, the photodialoguer contrasts with the traditional flâneur in several respects. In summarizing the value of the photo-dialogue methodology, a comparison between the two is instructive (see Table 1 below).

As opposed to the flâneur, the photo-dialoguer aims to question visuality, not in a leisured way, but as an engaged and combative observer. The photo-dialoguer is not a self-assured and dominant observer, but occupies a liminal space, in a constant quandary about where she/he/they stand(s). The photo-dialoguer is highly reflexive, as they formalize their gaze through taking pictures that are intended to be placed in continuous dialogue with pictures taken by other photo-dialoguers, in contrast with the monadic and solitary experience of the flâneur. As such, the photo-dialoguer is not the "hero of modernity" (Baudelaire cited by Tester, 1994), they question modernity. In order to properly reflect on collaborative dialogues, photo-dialoguers need to be mindful of their different identities and how these relate to the varied identities of people in the places they stroll.

In line with the interpretive turn in qualitative inquiry and comparable advances in critical methodologies and anti-racist work (Delgado and Stefancic, 2017; Johnson et al., 2018), photo-dialoguers need to take stock of who they are and how their presence, as individuals or travelling groups, may be perceived and received in the different spaces they travel (Berger, 2008). Acknowledging that there is a need to move beyond a binary gaze polarizing "the insider" and "the outsider", the photo-dialoguer sees their positionality as complex, fluid and diversely constructed through a combination of hyphen-spaces, i.e. continuums of similarity and difference between researchers and researched communities (Cunliffe and Karunanayake, 2013).

As the photo-dialoguer is reflexive and mindful of their complex positionality, they are able to reflect on the multidimensionality of power imbalances. Rather than framing captured images as empirical "truths," the photo-dialoguer conceptualizes photographs as relational objects with layered and potentially contested meanings, while grounding their photo-dialoguing praxis in a social justice position that unequivocally involves striving to create and interpret photographs in ways that do not perpetuate oppressive dynamics. Seeing photographs from different points of view and discussing the possibilities surrounding these different contextualised standpoints and interpretations allows the viewer to de-centre their perspective and measure their distance to other viewers.

The praxis of photo-dialoguing

In June 2019, we had an opportunity to implement our ideas about the anti-racist potential of the photo-dialoguer archetype and its conceptual framing during a two-day workshop in Paris. Our workshop was based on a collaborative methodological approach of using visual representations of race in urban spaces to develop critical and anti-racist insights. In bringing

Table 1. Contrasting the photodialoguer and the flâneur

The flâneur	The photo-dialoguer
Self-assured	In a quandary about where she stands
Shadow and non-reflexive subject	Reflexive subject
Leisured	Critical and combative
Empowered	Disempowered and re-empowered
Conquering the capitalist marketplace	Questioning the capitalist marketplace
Monadic and solitary dreamer	Social dialoguer

scholars and community stakeholders together, our aim was to stimulate discussions that would advance theories on and understandings of the relationship between race and markets, while facilitating new modes of teaching and learning. We initially conceived of our workshop as building on key elements of photovoice, as highlighted by Wang and Burris (1997, p. 370):

> (1) enabling people to record and reflect their community's strengths and concerns, (2) promoting critical dialogue and knowledge about important community issues through large and small group discussion of their photographs.

Photovoice is often used by communities and groups that are structurally stigmatized behaviours. Because of their historical and ongoing experiences of oppression, these groups are often rightly suspicious of outsiders (including academic researchers). It was essential for us to develop a workshop that would not fall into the trap of reproducing inequitable power relations. Drawing on photovoice work but moving in a slightly different direction, we found ourselves conceptualizing and exploring the praxis of photo-dialoguing.

The design of the workshop (summarized in Table 2) included a diverse collection of participants in terms of racial identity, nationality, familiarity with Paris and role—as each of the three sub-groups that travelled to a unique district of Paris included a (specifically selected) grassroots organizer and/or practitioner that served as the primary guide as well as an intentional mix of local community members and (mostly outsider) researchers. Our aspirations for the workshop were almost immediately challenged by a number of logistical hurdles—most notably the difficulty of getting cross-institutional review board approval to photograph people. In hindsight, our limited ability to photograph people had the benefit of forcing participants to focus on symbols of race, racism and inequity encoded into the city's architecture, urban design and visual traces of people's activities. Such an approach departed from conventional photographic research on race and place that tends to focus on bodies in spaces.

The workshop design intentionally foregrounded knowledge rooted in the perspectives and experiences of racialised people, and accounted for the omnipresence of White supremacy without centring Whiteness. Most of the participants were Black and racialized people but none of the participants in the workshop shared exactly the same social position and worldview. For instance, a small group travelling to a particular neighbourhood might include: a Black American intermediary who has lived in Paris for 15 years; a second Black American expatriate and 25 year resident of Paris; a Black French musician; a Black Parisian academic; a Latinx academic who had recently spent a year living in Paris; and three academics who were relatively unfamiliar with Paris—one Black British, one Asian American and one White American. Whereas this characterization, primarily through race and nationality, gives some sense of the diversity of our group, it cannot capture the vast

ranges of subject positions, inclinations towards engagement, and ideological convictions that group members had.

Acknowledging these differences, we recognized that there were no assumed conventions for how we would interpret the visual landscape based on race, nationality, gender and the like. Yet our shared purpose of visually rendering images of race and inequity through photographs of different Paris neighbourhoods, which we would later discuss, helped to coordinate our actions, even if we were on less secure footing regarding our ability to achieve our mutual goals. Rather than seeing these dynamics as drawbacks, we want to acknowledge the generative potential of such collective questioning.

Throughout our workshop, we were continually aware of how the differences that exist between us may result in conflicting interpretations of the same image or experience. We reckoned with this by self-reflexively discussing the various ways that race and racism

Table 2. The design of the two-day workshop in Paris

Workshop phases	Content	Participant group dynamics
Phase 1: Pre-workshop online collaborative platform	Participants shared research papers and other writings, while discussing the workshop as well as the theme "race and the marketplace"	Organizational team members (researchers) created and moderated the online platform
Phase 2: Day One, introduction of the workshop	Participants collectively discussed the project, considered our personal, social and intellectual relations to the topic, and addressed ethical considerations around the potential (mis)uses of photography	Organizational team members (researchers) led workshops and facilitated discussions
Phase 3: Day One, strolling as a photo-dialoguer	Participants travelled as small groups, each with at least two multilingual (French and English) speakers, to three different Paris neighbourhoods, purposefully selected because their racial composition or identity challenged customary notions of French, White, Paris: (1) The *5th arrondissement* is *a* typical touristy Parisian neighbourhood with an influence of Black intellectuals (Harlem Renaissance and Negritude movement) (2) The *18th arrondissement* is the neighbourhood of the Goutte d'Or—home to sizable North African and African communities (3) The *19th arrondissement* is regarded as an area that is rich in art and culture, with a very diverse population and at the same time undergoing rapid "gentrification"	Designed and led by Parisian Intermediaries, Paris residents also took the initiative of introducing aspects of Paris life to non-Parisians. Each participant was responsible for taking their own photographs
Phase 4: Day Two, discussions amongst photo-dialoguers	Participants discussed selected photographs using the mnemonic "SHOWeD" (1) What do you See here? (2) What is really Happening? (3) How does this relate to Our lives? (4) Why does this problem or strength exist? (5) What can we Do about it?	Integrated group discussions, facilitated by Organizational Team members, featuring varied contributions connected to individual's familiarity with Parisian society and academic acumen. Each participant had an opportunity to present their photos, followed by collective dialogue
Phase 5: Post-workshop online collaboration	Participants develop different initiatives (e.g. video, webpage, academic articles, blog posts) to share and build on their experience	Various sub-groups of participants (including Organizational Team members) self-organised to pursue different scholarly projects

manifest and are understood in the different socio-political contexts that each participant was most familiar with—indeed these were ongoing topics of conversation while strolling. Photo-dialoguing can prompt productive discussions and pedagogical interventions that involve tarrying with the potential to pursue shared anti-racist understandings and goals, while acknowledging the challenges involved in such work, most notably the different geo-culturally specific ways that people define and experience racism. For instance, workshop attendants' diffident demeanours did not merely emerge from individual ideation but rather arose from the tension created through the intermingling of "local" and "foreign" perspectives.

Having a diverse group in terms of racial identity, nationality, familiarity with Paris and role enabled a strong and mutually beneficial partnership, as it enhanced the richness and mutuality of project buy-in, ownership and outcomes. The workshop's combination of familiar and fresh eyes created an environment wherein each participant constantly reflected on their relationship to the surrounding area. Foreign participants perceptually challenged locals to see once commonplace settings anew, while locals pressed non-locals to evaluate the significance of race and racism through a geographically appropriate lens. The collective nature of the workshop and its juxtaposition of local and foreign participants also spurred collective reflexivity. Rather than seeing ourselves as a collection of individuals documenting racialized urban spaces through photography, we assumed the shared responsibility of an interconnected group wherein our individual contributions were understood to hold import across the collective and beyond. Each of us were careful to consider the potential unintended consequences of a given photo taken and how our specific positionality could impact such consequences. Knowing that we would be accountable for explaining to the group the relevance of race and racism in the pictures we took also prompted us to be critical, and, at times, antagonistic about when and what we photographed. In sum, as opposed to its individualized conceptual framework and in stark contrast to the traditional flâneur, the praxis of photo-dialoguing is not absolutely embodied or fully realized as a singular experience. Rather its theoretical underpinnings exist as shared, correlated and collective concurrences.

Discussion

This article contributes to the literature bridging visual culture studies and race studies through an account of the potential of photography, when combined with dialogue, to challenge the sovereignty and autonomy of White supremacist visuality, to advance the recognition and legitimacy of pluralized visualities, and to open the door for anti-racist visualities. In her essay On Photography, Sontag (1977, p. 55) notes, "the photographer is an armed version of the solitary walker reconnoitering, stalking, cruising the urban inferno, the voyeuristic stroller who discovers the city as a landscape of voluptuous extremes." Whereas photography has been used to reinforce a White supremacist visuality, it is also a powerful medium through which to engage in meaningful conversations about race, (anti-)racism and White supremacy. Yet, this often requires a critical and reflexive approach to its use, rooted in an epistemic position that foregrounds the knowledge and work of racialized people.

We highlight how photographs and the embodied experiences and material processes that lead to their production can contribute to an ongoing, open-ended and historically unfinished "living archive" (Hall, 2001, p. 89) that captures how aspects of contemporary life

are shaped by issues concerning race. By depicting socio-political issues and inequities in potentially accessible, compelling and rousing ways (Banks and Morphy, 1997; Jones, 2019; Smith, 2014, 2018; Wang and Burris, 1997), photo-dialogue offers rich opportunities for sharing insights related to race, which continues to be a social construct that many societies have difficulty discussing. As such, it is a powerful method for deconstructing the shadow archive and exploring alternative possibilities that exceed or precede dominant modes of seeing and representing civic life and its racialized connotations.

We argue that the photo-dialoguer is the embodiment of a new and innovative photographic methodology we call photo-dialogue, based on reflexive dialogue between participants with different subjective positions, towards the goals of interrogating, unsettling and challenging White supremacy's reign over visuality. We posit that this method is particularly relevant within the context of critical studies of the organization and administration of public space and marketplace contexts. Although photography is not exclusively anti-racist in its aims or potential applications, there can be a strong and stimulating dialectic between shared criticality, anti-racist visuality, as well as representational and archival justice that gets realized through acts of both taking pictures and collectively analysing them. As such, photo-dialoguing is in line with alternative pedagogies using photography to learn about and teach anti-racist visualities.

In this period of photo saturation, marked by increased democratization of who can take photos as well as where and how they are shared, photography's interpretive domain might be the most consequential plane on which battles over representations and the meanings associated with them occur. Photo-dialogue offers a mode for approaching this challenge through socially accountable collaborative frames. The photo-dialoguer approaches their craft with an awareness of potential deliberations over what is being depicted and how they explain their reasons for and stakes in depicting it.

The reality of such deliberations always exceeds what the photographer imagines. Even in instances where anticipated critiques fail to materialize, their socially responsible anticipation of them has prepared the photo-dialoguer to shape the battles over meaning that inevitably ensue. The dialogic process offers an opportunity to communally frame visual interpretations from a variety of different standpoints, in ways that sit squarely with the interests of participants. Such dialogic framings reinforce the fight against visual regimes that attempt to impose a single dominant meaning.

As we conclude this article, it is difficult not to frame our discussion of (anti-)racism, visuality, freedom and urban marketspace in relation to the current global protests against racism, and more specifically, anti-Black violence and police brutality. On 25 May 2020, George Floyd was killed by police forces in Minneapolis while being arrested for allegedly passing a counterfeit $20 bill at a store. The violent murder was captured on video and the wide diffusion of the graphic footage sparked an unprecedented level of outcry worldwide (which is still unfolding as we write). With the advent of online social media, the power of images to confront police brutality and White supremacy has considerably amplified and globalized. Rallying around the cry "Black Lives Matter", huge crowds across the world (e.g. Paris, Rio de Janeiro, Bristol, Tel Aviv) call for justice and the abolition of the police and prison industrial complex, not only in the US but also in their respective countries. Amidst these protests, images of them and the events that prompted them are sometimes believed to provide counterevidence against the unbalanced "Black-word-against-White word" situation. Nevertheless, the potential empowerment of Black people, including via photographic efforts, prompts immediate backlash.

While photographers have been brutalized by police in many countries, in France, a bill was proposed in late May 2020 that would outlaw taking or sharing photographs of police. Moreover, the use of images has not only been condemned by White supremacists, anti-racists activists note that such images may perpetuate racist imaginaries and structural oppression. In particular, some have critiqued the repeated diffusion of video footage of the killing of George Floyd and viewed such video-circulating activity as being part of fetishizing social media approaches that instrumentalize, spectacularize and objectify Black people. Yet, such startling imagery (particularly of cis-gender Black men) seems to be a prerequisite for widespread moral outrage and social mobilization. For instance, the civil rights movement in the US only gained a strong multiracial following after images depicting the brutal murder of Emmett Till circulated in media. However, in line with the legacy of White-supremacist produced photographs of lynchings, these images of Black death have the potential to serve as warnings to Black and other marginalized viewers about the dangers of being perceived as getting out of line.

In the insightful words of critical information studies and digital culture scholar, Sutherland (2017, p. 35), "[f]or the media, and for those in positions of power, there are political, social, and economic gains to be made by reinscribing images of Black death; these visual records are a means of power and control, a powerful reminder that one must be ever vigilant and ever in fear for one's life". Thus, photography and its use as part of documenting past and present moments is far from inherently anti-racist in nature. This is the conundrum the photo-dialoguer must face: recognizing that although their activity may be a useful tool to confront power and move towards social justice, it may also reproduce the racist abuses it claims to critique. As such, the photo-dialoguer should be able to navigate the racial dynamics of entered spaces and remain vigilant to the dialectic between their photographic "eye", surrounding social structures and hegemonic cultural forces. The photo-dialoguer must be cognizant that not everything should be visually "captured" (or diffused). Despite a potential desire to document moments, places and history, sometimes relinquishing one's gaze from behind the lens of a camera is the right decision to make.

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